

INFORMAL CULTURAL EDUCATION IN CHINESE, JAPANESE,
AND KOREAN AMERICANS

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Asian Studies

College of Humanities

The University of Utah

August 2011

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The University of Utah Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

This study of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean immigrant college students investigated the similarities and differences in informal heritage cultural education in the United States. To research the various ways in which Asian Americans are informally educated about their cultural heritage in America, one-on-one in-depth interviews were conducted to understand the interactions of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans in terms of Asian cultural values. On the basis of these results, most of the three groups of Asian Americans were taught their heritage culture informally by their families, their larger heritage communities, the media, and so on in Utah. The findings of this study reveal that in their informal cultural education, more similarities than differences were found among three groups in terms of who the main cultural educator was, viewpoints about cultural education, and fundamental philosophies.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Under the patronage of my great professors, I was able to accomplish my purpose and this thesis. My deepest gratitude is to my advisor, Dr. Wesley Sasaki-Uemura. I have been fortunate to have an advisor who helped me to explore on my own and who taught me how to question thoughts and express ideas academically. His patience and support helped me to finish this study. I respect him as teacher who is willing to share his own time with students. I would also like to acknowledge the members of my committee, Dr. Chung-Myun Lee and Dr. Edmund Fong, for their mentorship and the generous gift of their time. Most importantly, none of this would have been possible without the love and support of my fiancé and my family in Korea. I would like to express my heart-felt gratitude to my family. I have to give a special mention for the kind consideration given by Jeremy Kim.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The ratio of Asian Americans in the United States is approximately one out of every twenty Americans (U.S. Census 2008 estimated). According to this estimate, it is reasonable to say that you could meet at least one Asian American once a day, unless you stayed home all day, if Asian Americans were evenly distributed across the country. You may see them in classrooms: 85% of Asian Americans have at least a high school diploma; you may meet them in stores: 1.1 million businesses are owned by Asian Americans; and you may also come across them in your neighborhood: 5 % of the total population of the U.S. (U.S. Census 2008 estimated).

Have you ever noticed where these Asian Americans come from? Maybe you do not even think about it because you view all Asians as coming from the same place. The most common misconception regarding Asian Americans is to lump the twenty-five ethnic subgroups of Asian ancestry who reside in the U.S. (Uba, 1994, p. 1) into the one category of “Asian.”

Even though Asian Americans from one subgroup are often misidentified as belonging to other Asian ethnic groups due to their similar features, they are distinguishable in many different ways. Some of these differences include country of origin, history of immigration, language, and religion. It is important for people to

understand that each Asian country has its own distinct culture. Yet, in spite of these differences, the multiple ethnic groups of Asian Americans present various degrees of adherence to specific common cultural values (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001, p. 344). Geographically, Asia is divided into four major groups - Central Asia, Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. In this study, I am looking only at East Asian groups. China, Japan, and Korea represent what is termed East Asia. While these countries cover a broad region with many peoples having a variety of different perspectives, I found that they share roots in their view of the ancestors, their fundamental philosophies, and the characters of their languages. Thus, I conducted an initial inquiry into Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans.

Statement of Problem

In terms of acculturation and enculturation, Asian cultural values have been integrated into immigrant life in America depending on the degree of adherence to the Asian culture and level of exposure to the American culture. Acculturation indicates the process of adjusting to the norms, values, and behaviors of the majority culture of the host country, while enculturation indicates the degree to which individuals attach to their heritage cultures (Park, Kim, Chiang, & Ju, 2010, p. 69). Generally, Asian Americans may be influenced by both Western and Eastern cultures. For example, many institutions in America tend to formally influence and educate people based on a Western cultural perspective. Asian Americans are further informally influenced by their families' and communities' Eastern cultural values. Formal education predominantly emphasizes

Western culture in American schools and general society. However, Asian Americans also learn Western cultural values in informal settings.

Culture is socially shared and transmitted patterns of values, norms, and beliefs that are indicated in everyday practices (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 484). According to one Korean American's autobiographical essay, "Even though my parents were extreme traditionalists in terms of maintaining Korean culture and custom in America, I was exposed to American culture every day and I support the idea that Western culture is transmitted informally on a daily basis."

Moreover, there is at least some degree of learning about Asia and Asian culture in formal institutional settings, although most of the time, formal education in America emphasizes Western cultural values. In fact, the world geography text book of one middle school in Salt Lake City describes Asia's geography and culture through six chapters. Also, recent research found that the number of Chinese language classes at 27,500 middle and high schools in the U.S. are increasing from 1 % to 4 %.

Depending on the level of acculturation and enculturation of their families and heritage communities, they would find congruence between acculturation and enculturation. For instance, second-generation Asian Americans who usually speak fluent English have parents who speak their heritage language fluently. Communication between the second-generation children and the first-generation parents would mix the American culture with the heritage culture if the conversation were understandable enough for both sides. In the interviews I took, Asian Americans generally accepted and internalized heritage cultural education. This indicates a balance between acculturation and enculturation, the so-called congruence between them. Thus, I hypothesize that

Asian Americans will be taught and will learn Asian cultural values primarily through informal methods, such as family interactions, rather than formal methods, such as attending school. Studies show that Asian American parents try to maintain traditional Asian values incongruently with their children's level of acculturation and enculturation. There are stages of qualifying congruence between acculturation and enculturation. First of all, there is understanding the level of acculturation and enculturation between immigrant parents and children, or educators and learners in terms of heritage cultural education. Instruction depends on the level of the culturations, and finally, the children become accustomed to the unfamiliar heritage culture. For example, Asian American parents might buy a book about their heritage culture. At first, the parents read the book to their child, then he/she reads it by his/herself repeatedly for pleasure, and finally he/she understands the cultural values in his/her way having become accustomed to the heritage culture. These are not equal and opposite processes but rather have modes of mixing the majority and minority culture in both processes.

Purpose of Study

What is informal education? Informal education refers to continuing through life whereby an individual acquires norms, behaviors, values, and knowledge from day-to-day experience, educative influences, and other resources in his/her circumstance (Livingstone, 2001, p. 30). These learning experiences are not structured in a formal class under an assigned teacher. Livingstone mentions that people get socialized by the internalization of values, attitudes, behaviors, skills, and knowledge that occur during everyday life (Livingstone, 2001, p. 4). Moreover, the majority of education experts

increasingly realize the need to attend to places and environments other than schools as places where formal education occurs (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 343).

Therefore, cultural activities are initiated and sustained by family, community members, and friends in the course of life as it is actually experienced on a day-to-day basis.

How do Asian American families and communities educate their children and progeny about their cultural heritage and cultural values? Immigrants are faced with bicultural or multicultural circumstances while residing in America. For example, a first-generation Korean American who was born in a foreign country and also their child may behave differently in his/her home than in school. In terms of language, he/she may speak English in school and in public, but may speak Korean at home. A second-generation Korean American notes her experience with first-generation immigrant parents. She attests to the bicultural circumstances in living in America.

Because of my family, I have retained and maintained my Korean language, my Korean culture, and my Korean manners. My family is my sole link to being Korean, and I am proud that I know how to speak, read, and write Korean with ease. I can slide from one world to another depending on whether I am at home or at school. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, p. 118)

Depending on the level of acculturation and enculturation of one's family, he/she experiences and practices his/her cultural heritage and values at home, and behaves him/herself, whereas he/she conforms him/herself to Western cultural values outside the home. Under normal circumstances, Asian Americans are formally educated by Western instructors in Western educational institutions. It is natural that they are accustomed to Western culture and cultural values. Furthermore, they would also most likely be informally exposed to their own Asian cultural heritage at home. Thus, from this study, I would like to research the various ways in which Asian Americans are informally

educated about their cultural heritage in America. In addition, I would like to emphasize the importance of the informal cultural education.

What is the pedagogy or tool for cultural education at home? In my opinion, it does not matter whether parents are professional educators or not. They still influence and teach their children about their cultural heritage. For example, consider a father who likes to tell fairy tales to his children and shares his thoughts and ideas related to the stories. Also consider a mother who shows her children how to cook a traditional cultural dish while telling them about the origin and significance of the food. According to a psychologist, Van Schalkwyk, words and music are ways of communication that use recondite symbols to transfer meaning and he emphasizes that they are essential tools for cultural education (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 352).

When I was young, after dinner my family sat cross-legged in the family room. I would sit on my grandfather's knee and ask him for a story or tale every night. Then he started,

Once upon a time, there were devoted brothers in a village. The brothers were very good friends. They always helped and took care of each other. One day, after the harvesting season, the older brother thought that he had produced more rice than his brother. So at night, he brought a straw rice bag to his younger brother's granary in secret. At the same time, the younger brother was worried about his older brother. 'This year, my brother produced less amount of rice than me. I want him to get more. I'd better bring a straw rice bag to his barn in secret.' So while his older brother brought a bag of rice, the younger brother went to his older brother's house. Finally, without being discovered, both brothers finished bringing a bag of rice to each other's barn. Then both felt very happy because his brother had more than himself.

My grandfather told this story when all my siblings got together. He also told us that the lesson from the story was that we should take care of our siblings and maintain close relations with them. What does dialogue or storytelling mean? Especially for

children, fairy tales, fables, songs, storytelling, and dialogues are essential forms of teaching. History and story are intimately knotted in all cultures as storytelling enables people to build or renew a social phenomenon, individual perceptions, or experiences (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 353). I entirely agree that fine stories stimulate thinking, build conversations, and actualize meaning within the listener and the teller (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 353). Therefore, I am looking at the stories, songs, fables, and conversations from Asian Americans and the influence they have on their understanding of their cultural heritage and identifying themselves with their own heritage.

Finally, I would like to compare and contrast the similarities and differences among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans in terms of sustaining their cultural heritage. Asian Americans share many cultural values, and the cultural values, norms, and behaviors are educated by informal education with family or the heritage community. Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans especially share a high degree of culture. In accordance with Asian Values Scales (AVS),¹ these three groups share the six cultural values of Collectivism, Conformity to Norms, Emotional Self-Control, Family Recognition through Achievement, Filial Piety, and Humility. First, collectivism refers to thinking about one's group before oneself, conformity to norms refers conforming to familial and social expectations, emotional self-control refers to having sufficient inner resources to solve emotional problems, family recognition through achievement refers to not bring shame to the family by avoiding educational failures, filial piety refers to taking care of elder parents, and lastly, humility refers to being humble. This research was based

¹ Asian values scale (AVS) is an instrument designed to assess adherence to Asian cultural values. AVS is described, and the results of 4 studies investigating the psychometric properties of the AVS are reported.

on comparing Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans with Filipino Americans. Thus, it might give some distinction between Eastern Asian and Southeast Asian cultural values. Because of the commonality among the Asian American communities, they find attraction or desire in the contact with other Asian Americans (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 1999, p. 344). Asian Americans maintain their Asian cultural identity within the American culture. A Japanese American student talks about her unconscious intimacy with Asian American friends:

When I explained my frustrations at my father's traditional ways, my Asian friends would nod and give me examples of how they dealt with their own fathers. We would talk about what a joke parent-teacher conferences were since our parents could barely understand the teacher. We helped each other when we didn't understand a particular English assignment because, unlike our white counterparts, we couldn't go home and have our papers cross-checked by our parents. It wasn't about speaking the same language, since I was Japanese and most of my friends were Korean. This bond that I felt arose from our common background. I never made a conscious decision to associate with Asians - it just happened. (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, pp. 98-99)

However, data from the World Values Survey documented that respondents from the three Asian countries surveyed (China, Japan, and South Korea) vary in their level of endorsement of many values. For example, two-thirds of South Koreans and Japanese supported "greater emphasis on the development of the individual" as a good change while only one-third of Chinese agreed. Similarly, 94% of South Koreans agreed with the statement, "Regardless of what the qualities and faults of one's parents are, one must always love and respect them," compared with 79% of Japanese and 75% of Chinese (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001, p. 345). Even though Asian cultures may share many values, norms, attitudes, and history, individual Asian cultures apparently differ in the degree to which they endorse these values.

Therefore, I would not only like to compare but also contrast the Asian American cultural heritage of these three groups through this study. I assume that there are more similarities than differences, but this study will specifically identify those similarities and differences among the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American cultures. I believe that the results from my study will help Asian Americans define the process by which they learn their cultural heritage, as well as further establish their individual identities. In accordance with this cultural study, I emphasize the importance of informal education in the heritage cultures of Asian American children.

Significance of Study

Many previous research studies looked at the challenge for formal educational institutions to make learning relevant and applicable to life outside the school. In contrast, this study examines the cultural education outside of the formal school system and the application of cultural values to the overall lives of the participants. Also, the results show how much the cultural education from family or some other source helps Asian Americans to understand the heritage culture, family relations, and identities. Therefore, this study will tell what Asian values, norms, beliefs and attitudes are taught unconsciously and also how they have been transmitted in everyday life.

This study will look at the similarity of cultural characteristics in comparing the heritage history, folktales, proverbs, and myths in Asian American culture. I have interviewed Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American college students about childhood fairy tales and songs, taboos, the frequent use of proverbs, and the regular holding of rituals and ceremonies. Finally, those dialogical materials are compared between one

community and another to seek the similarities among the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American communities. This is the first trial to assert that the heritage histories, fairy tales, proverbs, and stories are basic for comparing cultural similarities among groups of East Asian American cultures.

CHAPTER 2

PROCEDURE

Assumptions and Rationale for a Qualitative Design

For various immigrants in America, establishing policies or building places of educational institutions for minority education are important to sustain and to transmit the minority culture for the next generation. However, according to education experts, anthropologists, philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists increasingly recognize the need to attend to spheres and sites other than schools, as places where education takes place (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 343). With regard to this tradition, I assume that Asian cultural values would often be taught and learned by informal ways rather than formal ways such as school systems. I also believe that informal cultural education would occur at an Asian American's home and in the Asian community with the family.

Moreover, I assume that there is a similarity in terms of cultural values among these Asian American cultures, because it is generally known that traditional Asian cultures are largely grounded in Confucianism and Buddhism. Because of its geographical location to Korea, much of China's culture filtered into Korea, and from Korea into Japan. Although the origin of many historical and cultural things is contested among these three countries, we know that China, Japan, and Korea, all established common cultural values through Confucianism (Brown & Brown, 2006, p. 33). Based

upon this commonality, these East Asian culture in America might be expected to create and influence the other Asian immigrants' culture. The immigrants from these three countries share the Asian culture in regards to similar philosophies of human relationships and education, similar physical features, and similar food, languages, and feelings of being a minority.

The Type of Design Used

The intent of qualitative research is to understand the interactions of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans in terms of Asian cultural values. This study, a cultural anthropology, utilizes ethnographic research methods. It is largely an investigative process where the researcher makes sense of a social phenomenon by comparing and contrasting the object of study. The intent of ethnographic research is to obtain a pattern of the subject of study with emphasis on the daily experiences of individuals by interviewing them.

The data that emerge from a qualitative study are descriptive. Data are reported in the Asian American college students' interviews. The focus of qualitative research is on participants' perceptions and experiences, and the way they make sense of their lives. Qualitative data analysis entails classifying things, persons, and events and the properties which characterize them. I seek to identify and describe patterns and themes from the perspective of the Asian American college students, then attempt to understand and explain these patterns based on a holistic picture and reporting detailed views of participants.

Data Collection Procedures

To recruit for participants, I contacted the current president of the Asian American Students Association (AASA) at the University of Utah and introduced this project. I received the list of the students and interviewed many of them.

The participants' ages range from 18 to 34 years old, freshmen to graduate students at the university. They have been educated under the American school system K-12. So far, I have conducted 10 interviews: 4 Chinese Americans, 3 Japanese Americans, and 3 Korean Americans. I refer to them by generation, heritage country, and Roman numerals in that order, because there are multiple second-generation students in each community.

In addition, I have quoted the autobiographic essays of two Korean Americans, one Japanese American, and one Chinese American from the book *Balancing two worlds: Asian American college students tell their life stories*. The authors of the book are second-generation Asian American, so they have the same qualities and immigrant history backgrounds as the interviewees. Also, they took an Asian and Asian American class at the college and wrote the essays for a semester. They had discussed their Asian American life for an entire semester, thus they could recall their pastimes and childhood. In my interview, 1 hour was not enough time to recall the childhood memories and histories. Most participants responded that "I know I had something, but I don't remember clearly." So I decided to add the autobiographical essays written by the same classification of Asian Americans in recent times.

Furthermore, for this study, 1 participant should share a single ethnicity with both of his/her parents, since this research will not account for intercultural or interracial

ethnicities among Asian Americans. For example, I am looking for a Chinese American participant whose parents are both ethnically Chinese American.

Each interview lasted for 30 minutes to 1 hour. I prepared 15 questions regarding informal cultural education in the U.S. The interviews were face-to-face, and the places of the interviews varied but were on the University of Utah campus. Every interview was audio-recorded pursuant to each participant's oral consent.

As for the transcription of the interviews, I set up the interviews to allow the participants to speak and think freely. I transcribed what they said and I did not revise their words. The essays from the book *Balancing two worlds* were not also revised or rephrased following the policy of the book publisher.

Limitation

As the first trial in this study, I investigated only three ethnic groups out of 25 ethnic subgroups of Asian ancestry. Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans have been chosen because their ancestors share similar cultural roots, and the majority immigrated voluntarily in the beginning of immigration (Ishii-Kuntz, 1997, p. 23). For the future research based on the result of this study, it would be worthwhile to study other Asian ethnic groups in terms of similar and different cultural values among Asian Americans.

Two of the Chinese American participants were not from China but from Vietnam and Burma. However, both participants self-identified as Chinese American. For the participant who migrated geographically from Burma, his family ethnically come from the *Hakka* Chinese group. When the participant was asked a question at the interview about the experience of traveling to his heritage country, he answered that he went to

China not Burma because he considered China as his heritage country. So he identified himself as Chinese American not Burmese American. Another participant from Vietnam also identified himself as Chinese American as well. He does not have any immediate connection to Vietnam since he was born in America. Moreover, for the question regarding his nationality at the interview, he answered that he considered himself Chinese American. Due to their self-identification, they were included in the category of Chinese American.

The sample sizes are often less than ideal and also unexpectedly, the majority of interviewees were second-generation Asian American students. Therefore, it is not clear how statistically reliable or generalizable the results are.

The interview time was not enough to completely recall all of the memories. Every interview lasted at least 30 minutes and a maximum 1 hour. This amount of time was not sufficient to recall all of the memories and stories. The most frequent answer to many of my questions was, "I know I had it, but I can't remember. It was at least 10 years ago." If the interview had been conducted more than one time and lasted longer than 1 hour, the interviewees may have answered more clearly and raised more issues. In addition, I used the stories and folklores from the book *Balancing Two Boundaries*. The book consists of 14 essays written by Asian American college students. The essays are autobiographical stories about biculturalism, bilingualism, and minorities.

CHAPTER 3

GRAND TOUR QUESTION AND SUBQUESTIONS

How Does Informal Cultural Education Occur

in Asian American Families and Communities?

How are cultural activities initiated and sustained by group members in the course of life as it is actually experienced on a day-to-day basis? Culture is defined as socially shared and transmitted patterns of values, norms, attitudes, and beliefs that are indicated in everyday practices, institution, and artifacts (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 484). Anthropologists, philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists of education point out that cultural education is essential to occur in places other than school (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 343). For this study, the participants talked about the various means of their past learning experiences and present learning processes. Through this information, I discovered the nature of cultural knowledge and the many practices through which culture is transmitted in everyday life. Thus, for this research, I found it necessary to broaden the meaning of *cultural education* to encompass life lived outside of educational institutions.

According to Freed-Garrod (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 344), forms of conversation, song, storytelling and dialogue play an important role in transmitting culture. As previously mentioned, cultural education encompasses formal educational

institutions as well as informal institutions, everyday life with family, friends, or society, and also multiple media. However, education in a minority culture would be restricted by limited environments and conditions within a majority cultural society. Majority society teaches the majority culture, thus, formal institutions generally educate according to the cultural majority, thereby building and reinforcing that society's culture. In a society, most people would follow the majority norms, values, and beliefs. This is the process of building the society's culture.

Conversation, Storytelling, Children's Book, and Song

The poet Schiller wrote, "Deeper meaning resides in the fairy tales told to me in my childhood than in any truth that is taught in life" (Penjore, 2005, p. 263). In Bakhtin's view, dialogically exploring lived experience develops individual and collective identities and is the agency that enables the construction of dynamic, shared communities of practice (Hoy, 1992, p. 765). For the participants in this study, living and growing up hearing family conversations, family historical backgrounds, cultural fairy tales, folklore, proverbs, and even jokes became the context for sharing cultural traditions and innovations in a variety of informal times and spaces.

Generally, the participants' parents talked about their heritage country with their children. The first-generation parents or grandparents compared the heritage country and culture with America and its culture. I assume that they recalled the lives they led in the past, expressed their nostalgia for their heritage country, or expressed their unfamiliarity with the American culture.

Second-generation Chinese American V's parents geographically came from Burma but his ancestors come from *Hakka* Chinese (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, p. 69).

Through my childhood, my mother told me stories of her life in Burma, constructing an elaborate world in my imagination. She told me how she grew up with eight brothers and sisters at 48 Latha Street, how she waited for the *mohinga*¹ vendor to come by in the mornings with his vat of famous broth, how the fish in America was okay but not as good as the fish found in the Rangoon marketplace. My home was built upon story and tradition.

Second-generation Chinese American IV:

There are some interesting stories. Like why is there a dragon in the Chinese New Year's festival? I think the dragon means wisdom. Most of the stories come from my parents. They just told me. They talk about their childhood when I am complaining about school by telling me about how they walked to the school when they were my age. They also talked about food and lifestyle (This participant's parents came from Taiwan).

Here is another response from fourth-generation Japanese American I: "My aunt (my mom's older sister) tells me that if she did something to her father like what I did to my dad, she would not be forgiven. My mom kind of agrees with that."

Parents, extended family members, or knowledgeable persons in the heritage culture tell stories or folklore which are from their heritage country. Those stories include the philosophy of the heritage country, as well as the cultural values, behaviors, or beliefs. This tradition of expressing their ideas, values, norms, beliefs, superstitions, and culture orally to pass them on to their children is a traditional education system. Second-generation Japanese American IV mentioned,

In Japanese folklore, there is one day every year when a demon enters the household. It is vital that the family members expel this demon immediately; otherwise, bad luck will fall upon the house and those who live in it. So, everyone drives the demon out with dried hard peas while loudly chanting, "*Oni wa soto! Fuku wa utchi!*" (sic) Demons dwell outside! Good fortune enters in! My mother

¹ *Mohinga* is the national dish of Myanmar. It consists of a fish broth with noodles. This dish is served with various events. Though *Mohinga* is mostly enjoyed at breakfasts, it can also be eaten at any time of the day or night.

explained this to me, conveniently enough, after I had returned from Japanese school that day. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, p. 93)

Even though a modern education system prevails in the United States, the knowledge of the Asian heritage culture is not taught in formal institutions.

Modern education is limited to imparting cognitive, linguistic and vocational skills, and promoting pluralistic and egalitarian values. It rarely transmits important cultural and social values, knowledge, and behaviors. Indigenous knowledge systems of families and communities, age-old institutions and rituals that punctuate the life cycle, richly supplement the deficiencies of the modern system. (Penjore, 2005. p. 262)

Therefore the immigrant parents or grandparents educate their children through traditional education pedagogy.

Second-generation Korean American I recalled her childhood education. Her parents taught her and her sister with Korean children's books and later she read them again and again. Now she is a doctoral student in Korean and English comparative literature study.

They may have told us a couple stories, but mostly, I learned of Korean folktales through reading this collection of children's books my parents bought for me and my sister. They were great and I re-read them so many times! I've also learned a lot from Korean movies. I remember my mother commenting about the story of *Sh'im Chong*² and how obedient she was a daughter. More than Korean folk tales, my mother would refer to biblical stories, so most of the Korean folktales I'd been exposed to were for fun (This interview has not been corrected for grammatical errors or word usages).

In addition, education is not the only reason to tell stories, fairytales, and folklore.

When grandparents stay at home with children to babysit, the children need to be entertained. To children, folktales and stories are for entertainment or for fun, and value

² The Tale of *Sh'im Chung* that teaches children the principle of filial piety is about a young maiden who was very much devoted to her blind father. Chung even sold herself as a human sacrifice to sailors in exchange for 300 bags of rice that might help her father regain his lost eyesight. *Sh'im Chung* is still the symbol of a good daughter in Korea. This is one of the most famous folk tales known in Korea.

inculcation comes as a by-product without them being aware of it. Fourth-generation Japanese American II mentioned,

My grandparents watched me when I was preschool age. So growing up I kind of learned different mannerisms, how to eat with chopsticks, or various Japanese foods...stuff like that. When I was a little older, there was a CD or tape recording of Japanese children songs which I remember my grandma explained to me what the songs were about. One song I remember was '*Momotaro*'³. It is about a little boy who went on an adventure. Then there are a couple more that I recall. One was about a turtle and a rabbit. I remember how '*Kame*' is the turtle and '*Usagi*' is the rabbit. My grandma on my mother's side is the one who taught me. She was born in California and went back to Japan for school. I think she went back for college. She was in Japan during the war, so she was stuck there. She didn't experience the war in America, but she experienced bombings in Japan. It is very interesting. You should actually talk to her. She has some interesting stories. Someone gave me a Japanese children's book. And my mom or somebody always read to me. One story was '*Urashima Taro*'⁴ I remember he went to see the world and he lived under water, and when he came back from the world, everybody was old. I can't exactly remember the rest of the story. (This interview has not been corrected for grammatical errors or word usages.)

1.5-generation Japanese American:

I remember a story of a scholar who traveled a long distance to seek a wise monk to ask, "Where is heaven/Nirvana?" A story of an innkeeper and his wife who tried to swindle a traveler by feeding him ginger buds which supposedly cause forgetfulness.

A major role of grandparents is to be family historians, whereby they transmit ethnic heritage, values, family traditions, and family history to their grandchildren, either through the middle generation or through direct contacts (Ishizawa, 2004, p. 469).

It is common for immigrant parents and grandparents to educate the children with adages, sayings, connotations, and so. These adages and such are based on

³ *Momotaro* is a popular hero from Japanese folklore. His name literally means Peach *Tarō*; as *Tarō* is a common Japanese boy's name, it is often translated as Peach Boy. *Momotarō* is also the title of various books, films, and other works that portray the tale of this hero.

⁴ *Urashima Tarō* is a Japanese legend about a fisherman who rescues a turtle and is rewarded for this with a visit to *Ryūgū-jō*, the palace of *Ryūjin*, the Dragon God, under the sea. He stays there for three days and, upon his return to his village, finds himself 300 years in the future. The tale has been identified as the earliest example of a story involving time travel (Yorke, 2006).

Asian cultural values, norms, and beliefs. For example, many of the proverbs and norms that immigrant parents and grandparents tell are related to luck, fortune, and spirits, which are not usually commented on in Christian or Western philosophy. Second-generation Chinese American III mentioned, “Don’t play with chopsticks because it drives away good fortune.” And second-generation Chinese American IV also mentioned,

Don’t whistle at night because it brings evil spirits to the home. Who lives in the Moon? When I was elementary school, they told me. It was like classics they would tell kids in Taiwan. There is a story about a bunny in the moon that makes moon cakes.

Traditional Asian values are broadly founded on Confucianism and Buddhism. Around 500 B.C., Confucius introduced an emphasis on moral behavior into religion, which up to then had focused on gaining luck and the propitious intervention of spirits (Uba, 1994, p. 14). Therefore, it can be determined that parents educate their children about Confucianism through their daily proverbs and/or norms whether they realize it or not.

One interviewee, second-generation Chinese American IV, defined himself as Christian at the interview and clarified that his family is also nondenominational Christian. Although believing in luck or fortune breaches the regulations of Christianity and following superstitions is contrary to the Bible, Asian American parents behave and educate their children based on Confucianism and Buddhism. I assume that Confucianism and Buddhism are not conceived of as a religion but as a philosophy of life because both have been embedded within Asian culture, people, and society as a common value. According to Brown, Confucianism was more the ruling ideology, guiding ethics and cultural roles in Asian society rather than a religion, so there was no real conflict between Confucianism and Christianity (Brown & Brown, 2006, p. 45). Second-generation

Chinese American I mentioned, “For my future children, I don’t believe that, but I will probably tell them those things and they will pick up whether they believe or not.”

Second-generation Chinese American II:

When I was little, I didn’t really understand that much. I had trouble communicating with Grandma. But now that I’m older and have taken an interest in the language, I can communicate with her. But when I was little, I struggled a little bit. I didn’t really care.

In conclusion, immigrant parents or grandparents tell the heritage history, story, or fairy fable as a form of cultural education, and also have conversations or have question and answer time with their children regarding the heritage culture. These experiences influence the immigrant children to learn and to get more knowledge of their heritage culture in day-to-day education. Moreover, immigrant children responded affirmatively and came to understand naturally the heritage cultures’ values, norms, behaviors, skills, and knowledge.

Travel to the Heritage Country

All the participants have visited their heritage country more than once. The motives for travel are varied, including visiting family and learning the heritage language and culture, as well as vacationing with the whole family. Field training, field trips, and study abroad programs have become common components of every educational curriculum system. Researchers found that there are cognitive outcomes through traveling, or attitudinal changes as a result of the experience. Other researchers have investigated some of the environmental and psychological dimensions of field trips - specifically, the role of environmental change in affecting cognitive learning (Falk & Balling, 1982, p. 22).

The numbers of students participating in study abroad programs to learn foreign languages, cultures, and particular subjects in a foreign country has increased. According to a survey of 'Benefit of Study-Abroad,' 98 % of the respondents said that study-abroad helped them to better understand their own cultural values and biases regarding their intercultural development and 82 % answered that study-abroad contributed to their developing a more multilayered way of thinking about the world. "My time there fundamentally changed how I view the world and has given me the ability to view the world, and its issues, from several perspectives." In addition, 87 % of respondents said that study abroad influenced subsequent educational experiences (Dwyer & Peters, "The Benefits of Study-Abroad").

I am also here in America to study in the Western educational environment and learn the English language. I chose to experience and learn the knowledge firsthand rather than to learn it indirectly. I believe that studying abroad is an extremely beneficial way to educate oneself, and I feel others share in my belief. Second-generation Korean American III mentioned that "Our family goes to Korea every other year. My sister and I learned some of the traditions and Korean language there." And second-generation Chinese American II mentioned,

When I went to Hong Kong, and came back with a pretty good knowledge of Cantonese because we were forced to speak only Cantonese the whole time. And I kept it up for a couple months. After a while, however, I stopped. It was family trip. It was very fun. I liked it a lot.

With reference to Eastern philosophy, in the beginning of Asian immigration to America around the late nineteenth century, most Chinese, Japanese, and Korean immigrants left their homelands under difficult circumstances. The Chinese immigrants were driven by harsh economic conditions to survive in another country. The Qing

government burdened the peasant farmers with heavy taxes because it was forced to pay high indemnities to the Western imperialist powers engaged in the Opium Wars. The farmers were unable to pay their high taxes, so they lost their lands. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan began to finance the industrialization and militarization of Japan. The government required farmers to pay an annual fixed tax based on the assessed value of land. Deflationary policies depressed the price of rice and put the farmers in a financial squeeze (Takaki, 1998, p. 43). Converted to Christianity, many Koreans had been encouraged to migrate to America by American missionaries, and they were also driven by political reasons. In the period of Japanese colonialism, Hawaii represented a haven to find a job or to escape from Japanese imperialism as political refugees (Takaki, 1998, pp. 53-54). All these groups were pushed by hardships in the homeland and pulled here by America's demand for their labor (Takaki, 1998, pp. 32-33). Yet they also tried to maintain their obligation to respect their ancestors and to willingly keep their place of origin. Thus, this strong place attachment and sense of family obligation led them to think of their migration as a temporary sojourn and discouraged them from settling permanently in a foreign land. According to Hsu (2000), Chinese attachment to their native place is a key maker of identity and belonging in China, along with kinship, surname, and profession (p. 9).

On the contrary, today many Asian Americans are voluntary immigrants seeking education for their children, a better life, work, and so on. From Waters' interviews (1990) with immigrants, she noticed that people were all citing the same values - most often love of family, hard work, and belief in education (p.134). Family is the most important of these among the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans, which is based

upon shared Confucian ideals from their countries of origin. Although most of these recent Asian Americans do not plan to return to their heritage country, they keep in touch with the rest of family back home and visit them occasionally. This travel seems to demonstrate respect for their ancestors and a desire to maintain strong kinship with their families. Simultaneously, immigrant parents educate their children about the heritage culture. Moreover, some Asian Americans go to school abroad for a full year of college or choose to participate in exchange programs for the short term. Second-generation Chinese American III:

I went to China when I was 1, 4, 7, 12, and 16 years old. I go there a lot. My family went to visit the rest of them. My mother's side of the family still lives in China.

Second-generation Chinese American IV:

I went to Taiwan 2 years ago, I was surprised how much I don't know about Taiwan. I wish I was born in Taiwan, and then I would know more about it. My brother was born in Taiwan, and I would like to be like him.

However, the experience of traveling to the heritage country is one way in which Asian Americans sometimes realize that they do not believe they belong anywhere.

Fourth-generation Japanese American II:

When my family traveled to Japan, I was very excited that I could really see where I came from. First time I was walking on the street and everybody was same with me, same skin color and same looking. But when I said something with English, not Japanese, they looked at me as a stranger. Also I felt that I was not the same person as them. I felt totally a stranger.

Asian Americans wonder who they are because they are shocked by their heritage culture and people when they go back to their heritage country. First, they realize that their heritage culture is not the same as their immigrant culture in many ways because immigrant culture involves assimilation, acculturation, and enculturation. Assimilation

tends to suppress one's original culture which is overridden by the dominant culture of the place to which one immigrates. Acculturation is a process of acquiring the capability of functioning within the dominant culture while retaining one's original culture.

Enculturation is the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that enable them to become functioning members of their heritage societies.

Many statistical data show that the Asian American population represents by both assimilation and acculturation (Park, Kim, Chiang, & Ju, 2010, pp. 74-75).

Second, the inability to speak their heritage language makes some Asian Americans feel like they are not part of their own people. According to certain research about heritage language and motivation, Han states that a majority of her Korean American interviewees agreed that 'a Korean person that doesn't speak Korean is not really a Korean' (Han, 2003, p. 17). This sentiment demonstrates that language proficiency is associated with ethnic identity and cultural awareness (Han, 2003, p. 25.).

Second-generation Korean American IV:

This constant attempt to belong wasn't restricted to when I was home, though. I went to Korea every summer until I was seventeen years of age, and every summer I would either play games on the buses and subways, pretending I was a real, live Korean girl engrossed in reading a Korean book of poetry (even though it took me fifteen minutes to read one page) or I would talk to my sister in English so that I could confirm for every one that yes, I am from America if you couldn't already tell from the way I dressed and the way I slouched in my seat with my legs taking up half the aisle. (Garrod & Kilkenney, 2007, pp. 110-111)

Second-generation Chinese American V:

My separation from my Chinese past became all the more apparent when I traveled to Beijing on a college foreign study program. Strangely, for the first time in my life, I was in the majority. It was an amazing sight, to walk in streets where everyone had black hair and narrow eyes, where no one gave a second thought about me. I blended in totally and completely, at least physically. As soon as I opened my mouth, however, I fell back into the minority. When native speakers heard my slow speech and erroneous tones, they assumed that I was an

erenren, a Japanese person, most likely a tourist. Most were shocked when I told them I was a *meiguoren*, an American. What was certain was that I was not one of them. I did not truly belong in China any more than I did in the streets of Needham. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, p. 84)

Whether the Asian American students fully appreciated their identifications or not, trips to the heritage country provided many opportunities to learn about the culture firsthand.

Food

According to Waters (1990), food is a very important part of ethnic identity. The construction of ethnicity through voluntary allegiance and choice allows an individual to celebrate their own ethnic identity by eating their traditional dishes (p.118). Food is a way to educate immigrant children about the heritage and culture of Asian Americans. Second-generation Chinese American I mentioned “Food obviously! Like just having rice daily or noodles. But what the American food is mixed. They won’t allow soda but milk or tea. They suggest drink water first for digestion.” Second-generation Chinese American V:

My mother and I have always been close. When I was very young, my mother cooked fried rice and noodles for the whole family on Saturday mornings. I always stood behind her, clutching her red *longhi* (a sarong) with my tiny fist, looking up at her back as she tilted the wok back and forth over the gas stove with her left hand, her right hand darting back and forth over the counter for a bottle of soy sauce or a bowl of bean sprouts. Cooking was always a loud affair, the pans hissing and crackling, the air vent roaring overhead, the spatula scraping the speckled black and silver surface of the worn iron wok. The kitchen smelled like onions, the walls and cupboards habitually covered with a thin film of grease. The scent of fish sauce, curry, garlic, and turmeric permeated the kitchen air, hung in the corners for days. The kitchen was alive. I loved those mornings clinging to my mother’s thigh, sniffing the scent of peanut oil from her *longhi*, standing by her side just to be with her. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, p. 71)

I should also note that there is a philosophy regarding food in these three countries. Food itself comes up regularly as a topic of serious discussion and it also plays

a special role in Eastern social formation. According to the interview of Okihiro (1994), Chinese American, Tony Hom observed that “food always seemed to be a central part of the family...Food is the main gathering point around the table.” He points out the unique philosophy of Asian culture in the interview by saying, “Food also linked the living with the dead, whenever I visit my mother during a Chinese holiday and she has the special food and settings out to honor our ancestors” (p.113). Ancestor worship and offering the ancestor’s food is fundamental to all three cultures whether it is cast in Confucian or Buddhist or nativist terms. Fourth-generation Japanese American II:

American food is usually the main dish and Japanese is the additional one for all the holiday food. Except for New Year’s actually we do more Japanese. It is more Japanese. My grandma cooks for Japanese traditional soup with *Mocchi* ‘*Ozoni*’ and a bunch of other Japanese food. *Hana Matsuri* is Buddha’s birthday. A *Hana Matsuri* celebrated with Easter, because these are at the same month on April. We are kind a blending these two holidays. We don’t do it. But my grandma does the shrine with incense everyday. She does this everyday for the ancestors. I don’t really know how they certainly serve for the memorial day on every odd number years such as third, fifth, seventh year, etc. but it is die of after 5 years. Actually few days ago, it was my grandpa’s Memorial Day. But we didn’t do the ceremony. But my mom took my grandma to dinner out. Nowadays we still have Japanese food, my grandma makes them. For Thanksgiving coming up, we have a turkey, stuffing, mash potato, and like all the typical American food, but then also have sushi. You know just so kind of mix both.

Second-generation Chinese American III:

Chinese eat food for luck and special food for special days. One of the New Years days in the morning, we can only eat vegetables, but I never asked them why. If I didn’t eat my portion of food, my parents said that I don’t get any more food later.

Some food has a back story which is often associated with national history or mythology. For example, in America it is traditional to eat a turkey on Thanksgiving Day. Korean people eat sea weed soup on one’s birthday. Chinese people eat moon cakes during the autumn festival. Asian American children who wonder about eating traditional food on a certain day are given the cultural context by their parents or relatives. Asian

American children are provided an educational opportunity to learn history and background through these ritual observances related to traditional food.

Second-generation Chinese American IV:

Whenever I eat *Zongzi*,⁵ my dad tells me about the behind story it. He knows about all the stories. Moon cake- There was a rebellion. It was about a rebellion. The way they told all the soldiers about it. They gave everyone a moon cake, and they stuck the notice inside a moon cake with a piece of paper. They don't have anything now inside."

As a result, Asian food is closely correlated with cultural education. Food is a representative characteristic of the Asian heritage. Eating rice everyday is characteristic of East Asian culture, but it is not typical in America. Traditional foods and rituals show how Asian heritage culture is transmitted to Asian Americans informally in everyday life.

Behavior and Philosophy Based on Confucianism and Buddhism

Generally speaking, the philosophy of Eastern culture is different from that of Western culture. The philosophy and social concepts of the East Asian countries are based on religion. Though China, Japan, and Korea have some differences in their cultures and religions, they share many common values in terms of philosophy and behavior.

Officially China is atheist, even though over 100 million religious worshippers follow Buddhism in China, and the Chinese traditional way of life is informed by Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism (Brown & Brown, 2006, p. 39). Japan's main

⁵ *Zongzi* is a traditional Chinese pastry wrapped in bamboo leaves. The story is that in the *Zhou* dynasty, a well-respected prime minister, *Qu Yuan*, wrote a sincere and constructive criticism on the government, and presented it to the emperor. As with many incompetent predecessors before him (and many more to follow) in Chinese history, the emperor fired him. In his despair, he jumped into the river and killed himself. The people of *Zhou* made these *zong zi* with rice and various food fillings, and threw them into the river in the hopes that the river creatures would eat these *zong zi* instead of his body.

religions are their native Shintoism and Buddhism. Shintoism focuses on people's harmony with nature. Children are brought to Shinto shrines to pray for happiness, while most Japanese funerals are performed according to Buddhist rituals. So regardless of religions, Japanese follow different religious rituals as part of their cultural life. Since Buddhism and Confucianism stayed the most prominent religions in Korea from the ancient Three Kingdoms period (57 BC ~668 AD), a rapidly growing Christian population might be expected to conflict with Confucianism and Buddhism in Korea. However, Confucianism in Korea was more of a ruling ideology guiding ethics in society than a religion, so Korean Christians also maintain and respect those social customs and practices in their everyday life. Therefore, religions in these three groups have combined in different ways to form common cultural practices. The Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans have also brought the same concepts with them in terms of traditional religion.

Confucianism is the most general influence on Eastern philosophy, and the philosophy has also affected the life of Asian immigrants in the United States. Confucianism is a Chinese ethical and philosophical system developed from the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius. In particular, superstitions based on Confucianism, gaining luck and the propitious intervention of spirits, are often used and emphasized in moral behavior in Asian American life (Uba, 1994, p. 14). Second-generation Chinese American III:

My parents yell at me when I play with chopsticks. They said if you play with chopsticks, you don't get food. That is, all your fortune goes away. They don't let me sit on the table, because they said god will smite me. Whenever you enter a building or a house, you should greet always. Just acknowledge elders. Still say 'hi' to everyone.

Confucius thought that the solution to the political and social disorder plaguing China lay in adherence to the moral principles that he set forth. Among the values promoted by Confucius were interpersonal harmony, knowledge and acceptance of one's place in society and the family (with males and elders assuming ascendant positions), obedience, and orientation toward the group (Uba, 1994, p. 14). Second-generation Japanese

American:

There is a mentality among Asians to be tough and not let other people see that you actually have feelings-to cover up pain, anger, frustration, and depression. *Meiwaku kaketara dame*. The direct translation of this phrase into English is difficult because Americans do not follow this philosophy of life, whereas it permeates the inner soul of every Japanese man and woman. Loosely translated, it means, "Do not unnecessarily burden yourself onto others." "Mom, can I sleep over at Christine's house?" "*Meiwaku kaketara dame*." Don't burden Christine's mother with your presence. If I started misbehaving at a restaurant, as little kids often do, I was stopped short with "*Meiwaku kaketara dame*." Don't burden the other customers with your disobedience (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, pp. 104-105) (This quotation has corrected the word usage of *Meaku* to *Meiwaku*).

Fourth-generation Japanese American I:

When I go to church, everyone else is doing that and you know when the Japanese eat soup and stuff like that, they sip out of the bowl. My parents said that you should do that. My mom makes me go to church early when there is an event at the church. Because my mom says that I should go earlier and help the peoples during meeting or event. So she says that "You have to be there 15 minutes early." However in American meeting or event, she says that "you have to be there on time.

Fourth-generation Japanese American I:

Also she likes if you go to party you should bring food. When you go to Japanese event, but also when you go to my American friend's party, you should bring something. My mom says this is what the Japanese do. If someone makes you food, do not give back an empty plate. You should give back the plate with something such as food. She says that you should do the same with Japanese people, and also others. She doesn't mean with only Japanese. I don't get punished for not following Japanese manner but they suggest you should have done that.

The fourth-generation participants do not usually speak the heritage language because their parents do not speak the heritage language to them and they are usually English native speakers. However, while they do not use the heritage language on a daily basis, they frequently use some specific heritage idioms or vocabularies in lived life.

Fourth-generation Japanese American I:

We say a soy-sauce as '*Shoyu*,' chopsticks as '*Hashi*,' and rice as '*Gohan*.' Ever since I grew up, my grandparents use those words always, growing ever since I grown. They always taught me. "This is '*Shoyu*'" they never said it as soy-sauce. And this is '*Hashi*,' not chopstick (This interview has not been corrected for grammatical errors or word usages, but the Romanization of Japanese words have been revised by the interviewee).

Confucian influence spread throughout Japan and Korea. Today, it still remains the principal foundation of Chinese values and a fundamental part of Korean society, shaping moral values, way of life, and laws in those countries. It has had a significant influence in Japan, especially in the respect it requires for ancestors and family (Brown & Brown, 2006, p.34).

However, in terms of religion and its activity, Buddhism plays a more religious role than Confucianism does both in the country of origin and in America as well. Numerous Buddhist temples are preserved and regularly restored in China, Japan, Korea, and the United States. Interestingly, there is the same daily ritual found between Confucianists and Buddhists in Asian Americans. Both Japanese American and Chinese American interviewees mentioned the home-based shrine where their grandmother or mother burns incense and prays every day. While the Japanese American interviewee explained that her grandmother was Buddhist, the Chinese American interviewee said that her mother was atheist, but she was praying for the ancestors to keep the family's prosperity and healthy.

Under Confucianism, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans worship their ancestors and they believe that this is their obligation as a descendant. Rituals were codified and treated as a comprehensive system of norms. Most of the Chinese and Japanese American participants commented that their families have a little shrine at home where they light incense. They did not participate in the ritual ceremony but they know what it means and why the family does it. Second-generation Chinese American III:

We visit my grandmother's grave once a year. My family keeps a little shrine at home; I know it is for someone, ancestors. On holidays, they just put food on the table. Cups and chopsticks are set up. And every one bows in front of table. Just culture stuffs. They don't expect me to do it. I just do it. I don't pay attention. They never told me but I just know it is for good luck.

Traditionally, Asian Americans point to respect for ancestry. Related to that display of respect are values emphasizing obedience to the head, the leader, or the elderly of the family (Uba, 1994, p. 18). Second-generation Chinese American II:

My mom emphasizes the only thing which I should respect the elders. My parents support us than other parents. When you pour tea for someone, serve the eldest first and yourself the last. Even though the guest is younger, you still serve them first and yourself last. Oldest to youngest and then yourself. And my mom says knocking on the table means thanks.

Fourth-generation Japanese American II:

My parents and grandparents didn't actually say that you need to respect the elderly. But I just learned more from daily. Respect elders. I don't think they have ever taught me, but I just observed that what my grandma did, and how my mom did.

According to the research on the acculturation of Asian immigrants, first-generation Asian immigrants tend to re-create an Asian community within the home environment and expect their children to maintain ethnic traditions (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 365). The first-generation Asian American parents or grandparents of the participants "freeze" their culture and maintain the traditional customs which

migrated from the country of origin at the time of immigration. Also, the heritage language is the major language while English is the second language at home. Moreover, they emphasize Asian values and keep the Asian traditional taboos. This arrangement has been integrated to Asian American life day-by-day.

In conclusion, the Asian American parents from the interviews enact home-based cultural values, such as religious affiliation, maintenance of heritage languages and food, quotation of traditional proverbs, taboos, and superstitions in daily basis. Within this process, the Asian immigrant children unintentionally learn the Asian cultures.

Rituals, Ceremonies, Holidays, and Festivals

Cultural and/or religious events serve as vital cultural channels for immigrant families in the U.S. (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 371). Moreover, research about Asian American culture and identity suggests a multidimensional model of Asian American ethnic identity focused on family relatedness, pride in heritage-connectedness to traditions, awareness of discrimination - barriers, and achievement as integral to group membership (Oyseman & Sakamoto, 1997, p. 438). For example, their study created a questionnaire regarding connectedness. "It is important to me to learn about my group's traditions, customs and values," "I try to carry out at least some of my group's customs and traditions (e.g., relating to holidays, food, language)," "I want my children to be raised with my group's traditions," and "I feel a lot of pride in the achievements of my group." This study found that the relationship between collectivism and identity focused on the connectedness component of Asian American Identity (Oyseman & Sakamoto, 1997, p. 442).

Actually, all the participants of my study have visited, been involved in, or performed at heritage community festivals at some point in their lives, and their families have celebrated heritage holidays in either a traditional way, an American way, or a mixed way. Second-generation Chinese American I mentioned, “When we go to visit the grave, when we go up there, bow two times and setup the food. We do 3 times a year. My grandma burnt paper for money. I always thought that is respect.” Second-generation Chinese American II:

We do celebrate some Chinese cultural stuff, but they don’t really talk about them unless we ask. When I was little, I didn’t care and ask. But now I am older and ask a lot, then they answer. My grandma said that if it is raining on a funeral, that is a good sign. That means, god cries for the death. We celebrate with Chinese food at my grandma’s house. My mom does a shrine at home. She is Buddhist. My mom says when I am under her house, I have to follow her rules and her religion. I have to follow her. When I was little, I just followed my mom. But later when I grew up, I studied myself to find out why.

Stephen Harris wrote a book about Aboriginal education and cultural survival in Australia. In his book (Harris, 2000, p. 5), he suggests adding participation in ceremonies, involvement in rituals, and visiting traditional lands in the Aboriginal school curriculum. Second-generation Chinese American I:

We go twice a year to the temple. But we also do at home. We pray at home. At home we are trying to do this everyday. There are incense, water, and food stuffs. I know the food is for them to eat, and when they burnt the paper money, is for them to use. Why we do this, they protect and watch over us.

Second-generation Chinese American I:

Moon festival, and Chinese New Year’s Day celebration. Just my mom and her side family brought me up to these festivals with grandparents. I think that they go less now because they are old now. But when they were young, they went there a lot. Moon festival I’ve learned let see I remember. Light candles on. You push them into the lake. I think it is to respect for death. I think. I don’t really remember. Chinese New Year’s Day, I don’t remember many, except I just get money. You gave the money to the dragon. It is just tradition. I don’t know why gave money to dragon.

The most known holiday celebrations described by interviewees were Chinese New Year's, the Moon Cake festival, *Nihon Matsuri*, and the *Obon* festival. The *Nihon Matsuri* is an American festival made up in Salt Lake City, Utah to celebrate Japanese culture. It is not a celebration done in Japan. The interviewees seem to think that participation in ethnic festivals is one of the most important ways of giving cultural education to Asian Americans in the U.S.

There are many special holidays and celebrations in Asian culture. People would celebrate the holidays and hold a special ceremony for the day. On the other hand, some rituals and traditional services are performed every day and the shrine resides habitually inside the home somewhere in the center. Although such rituals are not held on a specified day, Asian American children have grown up with the ritual their whole lives.

Second-generation Japanese American:

They never speak of Buddhism, although it was a prominent part of their lives when they were grown up. The slow chants of prayer uttered by my grandmother as the beads in her hands rolled back and forth, back and forth, provided me with only the most superficial understanding of the Buddhist faith. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, pp. 100-101)

Some Asian American families celebrate American holidays with a mixture of heritage and American aspects. This fact shows the cultural adjustment process among Asian Americans. Acculturation is a critical factor to understand when examining the process of cultural adjustment and adaptation for Asian Americans (Yeh, 2003, p. 35). In further detail, this case in particular corresponds to integration which represents maintenance of one's cultural identity and participation in the dominant culture's values (Yeh, 2003, p. 35). Fourth-generation Japanese American I:

We celebrate all the holidays of America. We kind of mix. We do have turkey and also Japanese foods such as sushi, and rice. Like New Year's, we go the Japanese traditional way. We eat Mochi soup and rice every New Year's Day. For Obon, go the cemetery and pray. For Botti day, people exchange a gift. Give each other gifts. We need to give gifts with church friends. I think that you need to respect your ancestors so we do service for them. I've learnt from Sunday school. Hanamatsuri (Buddha's birthday) is the one I've learned from Sunday school. We do like dances on the day. They don't really teach you but you pick it up at the church. Because that is the only place you can see and watch. My mom was the teacher for a while at the Sunday school. A lot of parents are teachers.

Generally Asian American rituals, ceremonies, and holidays are based on the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism. After all, Asian American children learn the basic Asian philosophy, thoughts, and beliefs through the rituals, ceremonies, and holidays. Second-generation Chinese American IV said, "We used to go and visit them, but recently it is getting harder, so [we] just call them. My mom usually visits her family in Taiwan every two years, but it is getting harder as well." Also, second-generation Chinese American III said, "We do visit the grandfather's grave once a year. Every family member gets together. It is kind of family union day."

Most of the interviewees said that they celebrated New Year's Day in their traditional way, and it was a family reunion day. One of the Japanese American interviewees said that his family prepared only Japanese traditional food for New Year's Day, but on the other Japanese holidays, his family cooked American foods as main dishes and Japanese foods as side dishes. All the Chinese American interviewees said that their whole families went to Chinese restaurants and had Chinese food such as dim sum on the New Year's Day. All the Korean American interviewees mentioned '*Se-Bae*'⁶ on the New Year's Day.

⁶ *Se-Bae*: A formal bow of respect to family's elders on New Year's Day in Korea.

One Chinese American mentioned the correlation between ritual and Confucianism discussed in Okihiro's book. "Food also linked the living with the dead, whenever I visit my mother during a Chinese holiday and she has the special food and settings out to honor our ancestors." This ritual is the most basic concept in Confucianism, which respects the ancestors (Okihiro, 1994, p. 113).

Who is the Major Educator of Cultural Heritage?

We have discussed the data that show that Asian American parents and grandparents teach their children and the pedagogy of how they teach their cultural heritage in an informal but integrated way. I believe that informal cultural education occurs at home and in the cultural community. I also roughly assumed that the main educators are family members and community members. "Women serve as the guardians or gatekeepers of traditional values and belief structures in nearly every culture" (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 363). So mother and/or grandmother would be the most likely educators. The role of educating children in matters of Asian culture and tradition is performed by women within the household and in local organizational settings (Rayaprol, 1997, p. 131). Fourth-generation Japanese American I:

Probably my mom, I guess would be the main educator. I have spent more time with my mom than my dad. And my dad knows about some stuff about Japan, but he doesn't tell me. I am close to my mom. But she is probably the one in our house who knows what my grandparents know. But I know they have been to Japan, but they really don't tell me about that. It is not like they keep that thing from me. I just never ask them. I don't know, it is kind of weird. I don't think that I have ever talked with my grandparents.

Second-generation Korean American V:

He was, what most would call, the stereotypical Korean male. He came home from work everyday, plopped himself in front of the television, turned on the

sports channel, demanded his food, and was perfectly content for the rest of the night. Because of his seeming lack of interest in the family, he and my mother have always had a very rocky marriage that appeared close to ending on several occasions. Like most Korean fathers, he was stern, unemotional, and always kept his distance from his children so as to maintain our respect. He and I never really spoke all that much but it never bothered me because that was the type of relationship I was used to. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, pp. 229-230)

The traditional Asian American family structure is patriarchal, with the father maintaining an almost irreproachable authoritative, strict, dignified, and aloof relationship to the family. Indeed, the father might be uncomfortable about appearing uncertain in front of his children or revealing his feelings to his children; thus, a distance is created between father and children.

In the life of an immigrant, however, the living environment, family relationship, and family structure differ from the traditional Asian home. This fact may affect a family member's perceived and acquired role in the family. Thus, when I asked who was the main educator cultural heritage in each interviewee's life and looked for a pattern among the responses, I found that surprisingly, the answers varied from family members within the home to people outside of the home. This implies that Asian Americans are more flexible in their roles than tradition would suggest. Second-generation Chinese American

IV:

My parents are very strict about playing computer games. They also always say, 'Don't watch TV while you are eating,' and 'you never call someone who is older by the first name.' My dad knows about all the Chinese history and culture, and he helps me with Chinese. My mom always cooks every day, which might be different from American culture. A lot of Americans eat out once a week. But my family eats out once a month. While I was learning Chinese from my parents, I learned English from American neighbor. My father knows a lot because he had a lot of conversations with his father because his father likes to talk. 'My mom and dad both work. But my mom stays home longer time than my dad. She cooks, cleans, and does all the house work. After school, when back home, my mom was home and cooked for me. However my father likes to talk and he is well known

(sic) Chinese history well. I usually spend time with dad while watching TV or movies from Taiwan and I can ask the questions if anything comes up.

Most of the participants are from working-class families, so both parents work all day. All of the Chinese Americans interviewees grew up with their grandparents. Though they did not live together, their grandparents generally took over the babysitting while their parents were working. The fourth-generation Japanese American interviewees were also raised by their grandparents. However, except for the Chinese American and the fourth-generation Japanese American, the first- and second-generation Japanese and Korean Americans were not able to be close to their grandparents because their grandparents did not live in the United States.

Grandparents do play important roles in Asian families. Grandparents often take on the responsibility of teaching their grandchildren the language and traditions of their homelands. “Living with non-English-speaking parents and grandparents increases the likelihood of children speaking a non-English language at home” (Ishizawa, 2004, p.

479). Second-generation Chinese American I:

My grandmother because she took care of my sister and me. Culture, tradition...maybe my grandma. My grandma passed to my mom and my mom to me. When I was little, it is raining really hard. My grandma was saying that God is cooking rice. And it makes noise, and also my grandma was saying ‘God’s crying.’ It was really loud. I couldn’t get to sleep. It soothes me. Since my parents worked hard and came back home at night, my grandma and grandpa raised me.

According to the research on minority language use among grandchildren in multigenerational households, Japanese American grandchildren learn Japanese culture directly from their grandparents (Ishizawa, 2004, p. 469). Even though the Japanese American participants had not lived with their grandparents, the grandparents were the major educators for the heritage culture. Fourth-generation Japanese American II:

My grandparents watched me when I was preschool age. So growing up I kind of learned different mannerisms, how to eat with chopsticks, various Japanese food... stuff like that. When I was a little older, there was a CD or tape recording of Japanese children songs which I remember my grandma made a copy of to listen to. I do remember some of them, but not all of the songs. My grandma explained to me what the songs were about.

Generally both parents are interested in their children's education, and they cooperate in educating their children. Even though the parents may not actively teach the heritage culture, they still emphasize and encourage traditional cultural mannerisms and ideals in their children if they value maintaining their cultural heritage. Second-generation Korean American I said, "Both my mother and father seem to hold knowledge although I'd say that my mother holds more stubbornly to traditional Korean values."

Second-generation Korean American IV:

In one respect, I was raised in a very nontraditional way, but in other ways my parents were extreme traditionalists in terms of maintaining Korean culture and custom, even in America, even with their American-born daughters. No matter what part of American culture we were exposed to every day, we were going to keep our Korean roots and remain Korean in America. My mother's favorite insult to reprimand us whenever we did something 'wrong' was: "Jae-jum-ba. Me-gook-ae ga dwes-sa." "Look at you. You've become American." The way she said it, it was classless to be American - it meant having no manners, running wild on the streets barefoot and raising my voice to my father. Because of my family, I have maintained and retained my Korean language, my Korean culture, and my Korean manners. My family is my sole link to being Korean, and I am proud that I know all the customs, know how to do a proper full bow, and know how to speak, read, and write Korean with ease. I can slide from one world to another depending on whether I am at home or at school. (Garrod & Kilkenney, 2007, p. 112)

Also second-generation Korean American III said, "My parents emphasized Korean custom and culture." On the other hand, sometimes both parents are not interested in teaching their heritage culture. Rather, they emphasize that their children focus on American education and culture. Second-generation Chinese American II:

I want to know but my parents do not tell unless I ask. It is sad. Unless I ask, they don't talk. They always say that you good at school, no trouble, be on time, and get good grade, then that is fine.

Second-generation Chinese American III:

We don't talk much. My parents are always busy. If you are good at school, get straight A, then everything is fine. I have never heard anything from them related to Chinese heritage or history.

Asian Americans also find sources of cultural education outside of the home but still within the boundaries of the extended family. There are many Asian cultural associations that provide an extended family for Asian Americans. "Family in many Asian cultures means the extended family, including one's immediate family, parents, grandparents, and/or relatives (Zhan, 2003, p. 8)." Second-generation Chinese American III:

Probably my older cousins helped me. They don't really teach much culture. I just naturally followed them because I spent most of my time with them. I used to speak Cantonese with them. Most of them are older than me.

Second-generation Chinese American II:

My parents don't tell, but my uncle tells me. He is my father's older brother. I work for him and spend most of the time with him while my parents work all day and I am not able to meet my parents. No time for conversation. My uncle says that Hong Kong doesn't have snow. When I heard that, I was surprise. He talks about Chinese cultures, too.

One of the Chinese American participants above is also an educator for her younger sister. Her sister is 7 years younger. She speaks Cantonese with her sister, but when she stopped speaking Cantonese with her sister, her sister also stopped speaking Cantonese.

Surprisingly, in the case of second-generation Asian Americans, most of the interviewees reported losing the ability to speak their native language after entering elementary school. Before being exposed to the formal American school system, kids spend most of their time at home with parents, grandparents, or a babysitter. The more

time spent at home, the more familiar they were with their heritage culture. Once they entered the formal American school system, however, the children spent at least half a day at school where they were immersed in American culture and English is the language being taught. They also began to make American friends, and as most children often do, they ended up spending more time with these friends than with their families. Therefore, this enrollment naturally led to the loss of Asian cultural awareness and language.

In conclusion, the major educator is generally the person who spends the most time interacting and talking with the children. For example, if the mother is a housewife and stays home to take care of her children, the children spend more time with her, thereby providing the opportunity for her to pass on some of her cultural wisdom. Similarly, any other people who spent time with the children and had knowledge of their heritage culture were influential sources. For example, one participant worked for her uncle 3 days per week, and he was very knowledgeable in Chinese culture because he grew up in China. Therefore, he was able to pass on some of his knowledge to his niece. Also, any family members who take charge of babysitting prove to be major sources of cultural education for the children. Usually, grandparents are the ones who do the babysitting. In this study, none of the grandparents of the second-generation Asian Americans were professionally employed in America. They all were born in a foreign country and had not been skilled in the English language. Thus, they stayed home and took care of their grandchildren, during which time they educated the children about various traditions and mannerisms associated with their country of origin.

Gender Differences and Differences in Age

Asian American immigrant families are often grounded by practices of Confucian family hierarchies, based on age, role, sex, and birth order. For example, the eldest daughter is often assigned childcare responsibilities for younger siblings and is expected to assist her mother with household duties. As is well-known in Asian culture, sons are preferred more than daughters because sons symbolize succession of the family line and take the responsibility to care for the old parents (Uba, 1994, p. 29). The eldest son is considered to be the most important child, and also receives better treatment than his siblings (Uba, 1994, p. 30). Regardless of gender or age, Asian American immigrant parents often expect their children to be obedient, hardworking, and respectful of their authority and to place family needs above their own.

From the interviews, I expected to find some gender discrimination in the cultural education of the Asian American family. For example, parents or grandparents generally place more pressure on the son to be more culturally and linguistically aware. However, I could not find any pattern to prove this principle.

I also assume that first-generation immigrant parents are not as concerned about maintaining their heritage culture as much as blending into the majority culture. These parents want their children to become members of majority society, so they emphasize learning more about the majority culture. Furthermore, once these immigrants have processed and achieved assimilation or acculturation with American culture, thereby becoming "Asian Americans," they have most likely acquired the American value of gender equality amongst children. Second-generation Chinese American II:

My parents push my older brother. Because he is the oldest and son, he will graduate next year, and my parents really want him to get a job right away. They

always want the first son to support the family and come back home. By the way, my older brother is the one more Americanized. I could be Americanized but I am way less than him. We just have grown up with different tastes. We are very different. He hangs out more with Caucasian friends, but I hang out more with Asian friends.

In the above case, the Chinese parents pushed and supported their son rather than their daughter in terms of school and professional life because he is the eldest son of the family, but they did not pressure him to learn Chinese culture, values, or behaviors.

This is not the only case I have found. By coincidence, most of the participants are the eldest siblings in the family, and they expressed that they feel like they have more responsibility and pressure to succeed than their younger siblings. The younger siblings are generally the most liberal. As previously mentioned, the youngest has been more assimilated or acculturated. There is often a large communication gap between the father and the youngest child in the traditional family (Uba, 1994, p. 30). The youngest daughter is frequently the most acculturated if her family immigrated to the United States, and her primary sources of emotional support are usually her eldest brother, grandparents, and friends (Garrod & Kilkenney, 2007, p. 30). This research may not correlate with cultural education. Most of the interviewees answered generally. Second-generation Korean American IV:

When I speak of responsibilities, I don't mean things like chores or doing my homework; I mean the deeper responsibilities that you have because of your status, your class, your place in your family. The burden that I felt in my family as the older child who should have been a son - this is the responsibility that I felt on my shoulders as a 13 year-old when my father began his extended trips to Korea. No one told me explicitly that I had to take care of my family. But it was the cue that I picked up from hearing the stories my mother told about the role of the eldest child, the stories my grandfather told by being the oldest, the constant accolades and praise I received for being "such a good daughter. (Garrod & Kilkenney, 2007, p. 114)

Second-generation Chinese American I:

For me, since I am the oldest within my mom's entire side, I've learned about cultures first and when my cousins grew up, they didn't really teach much, you know. I think they just stopped teaching my sister about cultural stuffs. She is too Americanized. Because they have been really busy. She is 7 years younger than me. I am definitely more Chinese than her. Since I was born first in entire family, they gave all the attention to me. So when she came, there was less attention.

Second-generation Chinese American II:

My parents are more generous to my younger sister. Very generous. I am not jealous. She is very ill mannered. She is very spoiled. My parents are always tired so she knows how to take advantage of it. So she can do whatever she wants.

Second-generation Korean American II:

I started working at 16 because I am the eldest. But my younger brother has never worked so far. He and I are only one year difference. He is freshman in college. My parents have supported him in everything. He took every AP class.

Second-generation Chinese American IV:

My brother grew up in Taiwan, and he came to America when he was 11 years old. So for customs, I don't think that they force him follow more strictly, because he knew them already. Probably me, because I didn't know. But a lot of time, they are too busy to explain. So I am the one who asks and find out myself. I think that they want him to know more about culture, because he already has the culture. Since he was not that old yet, he still has a lot of American friends, so I am pretty sure that he had same pressure. But the different time period, because I am a lot younger.

Second-generation Chinese American III:

Not really serious, more like the fun of it. Just joke. Whenever I am with the family, especially my little cousin. 'When men talk, women listen.' So make it joke. But parents let my younger sister leave be more Americanized. If she is good at school, they don't care.

In conclusion, first-generation parents do not seem to push their sons to be more familiar with their heritage culture than with the American culture, perhaps because of heritage values for the eldest to succeed in the culture to which they immigrated. The first-generation parents are not fluent in the English language because none of the

participants speak English with their parents except the two fourth-generation Japanese Americans. Thus, the parents do not belong to the majority society with a professional occupation. With regard to Asian Americans in particular, several researchers have pointed out that Asian Americans may quickly adopt the behaviors of the U.S. culture to survive in the American culture, but they also keep their Asian culture indefinitely (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999, p. 343).

The first-generation parents allow and encourage their children to be familiar with American culture and language in order to survive in the majority culture. Thus, the parents do not emphasize the education of their heritage culture, regardless of whether the child is a daughter or a son. However, since they may not quickly adopt the American values, they keep transferring the Asian values to the children through informal ways. For example, rooted in Confucian teachings and values, expectations placed on the eldest son do not readily change within the first-generation Asian American family, even though American culture does not place preferential support on children based upon their gender. Ironically, and perhaps hypocritically, first-generation Asian American parents adhere to their ancestral values, in a so-called 'Frozen Culture,' and informally educate their children in these values, yet they also want their children to assimilate into the majority culture and adopt majority values to achieve success.

Other Sources for Informal Education in Heritage Culture

None of the participants had been educated in the heritage culture in formal institutions or school systems while they were going to school K-12. There were the heritage cultural education opportunities outside of school, but most participants had been

educated at home with the family and extended family. However, I believe that they had experienced learning opportunities somewhere else. So I asked the question, “Where do you think that you learn the most about your heritage culture with the exception of home and family?” Second-generation Chinese American III:

I learned the most Chinese culture from TV drama and movies. The Chinese culture I’ve learned from TV doesn’t teach me but I picked the culture from TV drama and movies. At least it is not awkward. Of course it is different. But I am pretty comfortable with Chinese culture on TV (All the TV programs and movies were downloaded from the Internet).

Second-generation Chinese American II:

Recently my dad asked me how to download Chinese movies and dramas. Since then, my dad and I watch the movies together. And I don’t understand most of the time, but I can ask him and he tells me. I catch the Chinese culture from the movie and from my dad’s answer. It is an informal way of cultural education.

1.5-generation Japanese American:

We have a cable program called TV Japan that shows some dramas, movies, and news from Japan. I’ve also learned some culture from Japanese graphic novels as well and ask my parents to verify.

Fourth-generation Japanese American II:

My grandma gets Japanese dramas, concerts, and stuffs sent to her from people in Japan. If I stayed at grandparents’ house, I watched those with them. I never understood exactly what they said, but enjoyed them. And now that I’m grown up, I watch it on YouTube, and I even found an old version of an *Enka* performance I watched when I was young.

Everyone agrees that the media and Internet has opened the door for extended education. Former Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander said, “The Internet and education don’t just fit; they were literally and specifically made for one another (Alexander, 2001, p. 2).” With support from the Internet and media, Asian Americans travel to the heritage country and experience their heritage culture in a virtual world. Even though this is an indirect experience, they still learn about their Asian heritage.

In addition, the old media like books were also some of the most accessible resources when they were young. Second-generation Korean American I said, “I learned of Korean folktales through reading this collection of children’s books my parents bought for me and my sister. They were great and I re-read them so many times! I’ve also learned a lot from Korean movies. I’ve watched some films from Netflix and have attended various talks related to Korean culture (i.e., about North Korean gulags, etc.).”

Another source has been previously discovered in other research regarding Asian American mental characteristics. In line with the research of intergenerational relationships among Asian Americans (Ishii-Kuntz, 1997, p. 25), “Asian Americans customarily seek help from friends and family before turning to mental health professionals.” Relying on members of the ethnic community for help has been the historical pattern for Asian Americans. I found the participants have strong relationships with friends of the same ethnicity or with Asian friends. The relationship plays a greater role than just friendship. They also share their knowledge of the heritage culture, values, histories, and so on. Second-generation Chinese American I mentioned, “What outside source do I learn culture from? Um...friends.⁷ Because they know it is really similar. Friends...and friends. I can’t really think any other source.” And also second-generation Chinese II said, “I grew up with a majority of Korean friends. I was never around Chinese people. I do realize there is some similarity with Korean friends. She will say something and, Yeah! That is same with me.” Second-generation Chinese American IV:

My neighbor’s parents went to China for a mission. And my friend’s mom is a Chinese teacher at BYU. So every New Year, she invites a bunch of people and serves Chinese food, dumpling, and decorates their house with Chinese red lanterns. They invited me several times. So they taught me about Chinese.

⁷ I assume ‘Friends’ means Chinese American friends. At the interview, he was sitting with four Chinese American friends at a student cafeteria. While interviewing, he was looking at his friends intermittently.

Immigrants become culturally encapsulated within the cultural norms of a more traditional era. While the heritage country was accepting new things and changing with current trends, the Asian Americans adhered to the original or past tradition which belong to the time when they left the heritage country. Thus, in understanding our results for Japanese Americans, one could hypothesize that the Japanese Americans have become so culturally encapsulated that they adhere even more to traditional Asian values than the more recent immigrants from Asia (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001, p. 358). Out of all the interviews, only two fourth- generation Japanese Americans actively make an endeavor to learn their heritage culture outside the home. Fourth-generation Japanese American II:

By going to Church, I have mostly kept in touch with my culture. I've also done it through the children's stories and songs. I also share the similar experiences with my cousins. They are also Japanese American and fourth-generation. My father has a brother and a sister, but they don't have kids. But he has a bunch of cousins. So I have a lot of second cousins but they are not all full Japanese, they are like half Japanese or half Caucasians, or so. Plus most of them live outside of Utah. So I keep in touch with my mom's side mostly. Since we are more Americanized and fourth-generation, I think we all feel more American. Plus we have grown up in Utah, where there are not as many Japanese like in California or somewhere else.

Fourth-generation Japanese American I:

I think that I am glad to go to the Ogden Buddhist Temple. If we are in the Buddhist church, I have Japanese culture and heritage. I play *Taiko* drum at the temple. This is not only a religious activity but also a cultural activity. We play at the *Nihon Matsuri* and *Obon* Festival once a year. All my friends are White. Church is the only place where I was like the others. I wasn't officially a member in the church until middle school.

Because there are not many institutions that teach the Asian culture, none of the participants have studied their heritage culture in a formal way. However, at the college level, there are various Asian cultural study programs such as language, history, culture,

and art taught in formal settings. Many of the participants have taken an Asian studies class in college. Three out of four Chinese American participants were taking Chinese language class at the university when I conducted the interview. All 3 Korean American participants were taking Korean classes at the university as well. Surprisingly, the participants did not learn the heritage language under the pressure of their parents or family members. They took a language class and learnt the heritage language because of their personal goals. Second-generation Korean American II:

Korean is my first language, but when I started going to school I mostly spoke English. This is in part because my parents didn't want my life to be difficult with what was considered at the time, an impediment. Because of this, I lost the majority of my language skills and my primary way of communicating clearly with my parents. University was the first opportunity for me to start learning Korean as my own decision. I want to learn Korean so I can understand my culture better and be able to communicate with my parents and grandparents.

CHAPTER 4

RESULT

Positive and Negative Viewpoints Among Three Groups

From these interviews, I found out that Chinese American and Japanese American students have more positive viewpoints about their cultures. Two of the Chinese American students said that they wish they had been born in Taiwan and China because they would like to know more about their heritage culture and language. Also, in my interviews, 2 of the Japanese American students explained their desire to learn more about their Japanese culture and religion. “I am going to church because I want to learn more about Buddhism and Japanese. When I was young, even though I don’t understand cultural significance, it was fun. When I get older, I got more involved and so did family, and also I understand more. Also it is a way to understand my origin and meet the other Japanese people and Japanese community. You get a support group. You will meet people you don’t know and also it helps you professionally.”

The population of Japanese and Chinese American in Utah is big, so the communities are large enough to have their own heritage festivals and to sustain them. Most of the interviewees went to the Moon Festival, Chinese New Year’s Day Festival, Japanese *Nihon Matsuri*, *Obon* Festival, and *Hana Matsuri*. Those festivals have been held for a long time in Utah. In contrast, Korean Americans do not really have a long-

time festival yet compared with the Japanese and Chinese communities. Korean American participants have experienced the Korean community celebrations, but they both expressed antipathy against the community group and gathering. Second-generation Korean American I:

I've attended church picnics and family celebrations of various Korean holidays (such as *Chuseok*,¹ New Year's Day). To be honest, I think I mainly thought of church as a negative experience since, as a child, I didn't want to dress up or be quiet and inside. Often I couldn't understand much of the service, so my sister and I were often bored. And admittedly, because my mother (and now father too) are so devout and because my mother is so insistent on my going to church again, I feel resistant to the idea. I have, however, gone to church services intermittently over the years, but usually to a very progressive church that is very diverse.

Second-generation Korean American II:

My dad takes us to Korean Independence Day celebration at the park. That is about it. It was only once or twice. I thought it was weird. I didn't know any one, and I didn't want to be there. So my family would go to church. Church is a big part of Korean community. So if you don't go to the church, you don't know anybody. So even though my relatives were over there, they were like 10 years older than me, so they were doing whatever they wanted to do. So I felt like an alien from the Korean community. I am not active Korean community at all. I feel more comfortable with young students of color.

In conclusion, Chinese and Japanese communities are more active in holding heritage festivals on the community level. So the people in the community are more familiar with their heritage cultures and celebrations. Also, the festivals are not only held by religious groups, but also by the various community groups. On the other hand, the Korean community has a tendency to be controlled by Christian religious groups. Korean Americans' Christian faith is a significant group characteristic. According to Zhou and Kim (2007), "The Korean church is perhaps the single most important ethnic institution anchoring this community." I assume that the Chinese and Japanese communities have

¹ *Chuseok*: A major harvest festival and a 3-day holiday in Korea celebrated on the 15th day of the 8th month of the lunar calendar

established longer histories than the Korean community, so the historical background gives the communities stability in terms of events, the structure of the community, and so on.

Similar Immigration Background

Even though Asian American parents or grandparents have taught the Asian values, behaviors, languages, rituals, and cultures to their children, most of the parents of the participants did not give affirmative explanations about the heritage country to the children. The participants concluded that their parents had a hard time politically or economically in their heritage country. They also presumed that these difficulties were the reason why their parents or grandparents immigrated to America. Second-generation Chinese American IV said, “My dad said that you would be satisfied if you have a lot in America.” Also second-generation Chinese American III said, “They didn’t say much because they weren’t good in China, that’s why they moved.” And 1.5-generation Japanese American III mentioned, “I’m not sure if it’s specific to the Japanese, but humility (not being aggressive or confrontational), being frugal and avoid being wasteful.” Second-generation Chinese American I²:

After the Vietnam War, my dad migrated to America. And he brought my mom and his older brother supported my grandparents to immigrate to America. My dad always told me and my sister how much they were poor in Vietnam.

² The interviewee’s parents came from Vietnam; however, they are originally from Kwangtong Province, China. His parents speak Cantonese.

Second-generation Korean American I:

I remember my grandmother once singing a lullaby-type of song, but first she sang it in Chinese,³ then in Korean, then finally in Korean. This moment suggested so much about her and many Koreans' experience of her generation, living under colonial rule, having to learn the colonizers' language. I learned more about my grandfather's experiences from my father. He had grown up in a poor family but he was a very smart and determined man. While their family couldn't afford to send him to pilot training in Japan, he studied on his own to take the medical exam and passed, later serving as a doctor for many years.

Second-generation Chinese American V⁴:

Through my childhood, my mother told me stories of her life in Burma, constructing an elaborate world in my imagination. She told me how she grew up with eight brothers and sisters at 48 Latha Street, how she waited for the *muvinga* vendor to come by in the mornings with his vat of famous broth, how the fish in America was okay but not as good as the fish found in the Rangoon marketplace. My home was built upon story and tradition. (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007, p. 69)

The beginning of the migration was not a hopeful adventure but the inevitable option. The Asian immigrants came under harsh circumstances. They were pushed by hardship in the homeland and pulled here by America's demand for their labor (Takaki, 1998, pp. 32-33). Unlike the first wave immigrants, many of the participants' parents belong to the second wave which voluntarily immigrated to seek a better life and provide for their children's education, employment opportunities, and well-being. It was not necessary to migrate to another country; however, the reason to leave the heritage country seems to be similar with the first-wave immigrants in terms of political stability or economical fertility.

³ This interviewee explained that her grandmother sang in Chinese, but I believe that the song would be Japanese. Korea was colonized by the Japanese for 35 years in 1910-1945.

⁴ He came from Burma but he is *Hakka* Chinese whose ancestors have come from what is today's central China centuries ago. In series of migrations, now they settled in southern China, and often migrated overseas to various countries.

Similarity Among Three Communities

Previously mentioned, none of the participants had experienced formal cultural education, but informal cultural education up to their high school years. Only two students went to a community-based language school. None of them learned the heritage culture and language at a formal institution. Every participant went to school K-12 in America, and they spent at least 5 hours a day from Monday to Friday immersed in American culture at school. However, the participants responded that they are comfortable with both cultures. One of the Chinese American participants said, “The two cultures blend well. I am pretty comfortable with both cultures.” I believe that the informal education with family and the heritage community help them understand the heritage culture and language, while the formal education system encouraged them to learn and understand the American culture.

Here are the data from the Federal Education Department. In 2009, a survey confirmed that Spanish was taught almost universally. The survey found that 88 % of elementary schools and 93 % of middle and high schools with language programs offered Spanish in 2008. Among America’s approximately 27,500 middle and high schools offering at least one foreign language, the proportion offering Chinese rose to 4 %, from 1 %, from 1997 to 2008, according to the survey, which was done by the Center for Applied Linguistics. In the 1980s, many schools started teaching Japanese, but the portion offering Japanese has dropped from 7 % to 3 % today (Dillon, 2010, p. 18A). By the way, the proportion of Korean was not found by this survey. According to the survey, the opportunities to learn Asian language and culture are much fewer than Spanish and

Latino culture in the formal education system.

Confucianism as Fundamental Philosophy

Two main values affected the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American's life. First, they believe in superstitions of gaining luck and the propitious intervention of spirits on daily behaviors. Another one is respect to the ancestors and the elderly (Uba, 1997, p. 14). Under Confucianism, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans worship their ancestors and they believe that it is the obligation as a descendant. Rituals were codified and treated as a comprehensive system of norms. One Chinese American participant mentioned, "My parents always commanded, 'Don't play with chopsticks because it drives away good fortune.'" The Chinese American said that even though his family is nondenominational Christian, his parents says "Don't whistle at night, because it brings evil spirit to home." This means his parents still follow the norm not of Christianity but typical Confucianism.

Most of the participants said that their families keep a little shrine at home and light incense at it. They did not participate in the ritual ceremony, but they are aware of it. One of the Chinese participants said, "I have never asked my parents, but I know it is for ancestors and it is an expression of respect to them." Traditionally, Asian American values also emphasize respect for the family ancestors, the elderly, and the head of the family. The participant of the second-generation Chinese American mentioned her obedience to her parents. "My mom does shrine at home. She is Buddhist. My mom says when you are under her house; I have to follow her rule and her religion. I have to follow her. When I was little, I just followed my mom. But later when I grown up, I study

myself to find out why.” Related to that display of respect are values emphasizing obedience to authority figures such as parents and respect for the elderly (Uba, 1997, p. 18).

Difference of the Asian American Culture from the Asian Culture

From this study, I have not indicated significant differences between the Asian heritage culture and Americanized Asian heritage culture. Most of participants did not notice the difference between their Americanized heritage culture and their original heritage culture. Most of them are second-generation Asian American or more. Only 1 of the participants is 1.5 generation. She is the only one who speaks her heritage language with her parents. And she stated, “It was fun, but sort of strange - I felt that something was different, that certain ‘authenticity’ was missing. For example, the first time I went to the Japanese Festival held at my church, I thought that it wasn’t ‘Japanese enough.’ It is true that all cultures are inherently predisposed to change. Culture not only is inherited but can also be created and re-created to unite group members (Roosens, 1989, p. 12; see also Espiritu, 1992, p. 8). Therefore, while informants in the study did not recognize it clearly, there must be differences between Asian culture and Asian American culture.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The phrase “Talk among yourselves” is a Jewish joke that illustrates the belief that conversation shapes informal cultural education (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 359). I recognized this belief through the interviews with Asian American students. I would like to rephrase the Jewish joke as “talk more and listen more, and educate more and learn more.” In other words, the Asian American students who often listen to fairy tales, stories, or histories in terms of their heritage in everyday life have been educated about their heritage culture in an informal way. In Bakhtin’s view, dialogically exploring lived experience develops individual and collective identities and the agency that enables the construction of dynamic, shared communities of practice (Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2008, p. 349).

For instance, the most knowledgeable participant about his historical heritage and fairy tales was a Chinese American participant. He said that he often has a dialogue with his father because his father knows a lot about Chinese history and tales, and his father likes to tell the stories. “My father likes to talk and he is well known (sic) Chinese history. I usually spend time with my dad while watching TV or movies from Taiwan and I can ask the questions if anything comes up.” For another example, 1 female Chinese

participant stated that she has learned more since she spent more time conversing with her father. “Recently my dad asked me how to download Chinese movies and dramas. Since then, my dad and I watch the movies together. And I don’t understand most time, but I can ask him and he tells me. I catch the Chinese culture from the movie and from my dad’s answer.”

Participants may in fact be exhibiting bicultural competence or shifting selves in their ability to negotiate across Asian and American settings. For an Asian American college student who must balance multiple roles with peers and family, learning to interact in various cultural contexts is an important part of his or her development. While he/she is interacting with the other Asian Americans, he/she is able to access their heritage values, norms, histories, fairy tales, and so on. They may also realize they have similar values, philosophies, and cultural facts.

The culture with which the Americanized second generation eventually identifies is likely to be different from that of the first generation. The second generation apparently retrieves the alleged culture of their ancestry and recreates their ethnicity. When the participants were asked about the major value, all of them answered “respect for the elderly,” and they said it is the general value in Asian culture. By sharing and applying the same values in everyday life, the second-generation Asian Americans recreate the ethnicity as Asian Americans.

In looking at multiple social identities such as ethnic, gender, class, student, son, or daughter, Jenkins (1997) theoretically solves the problem of dealing with oppositional or incompatible identities by conceptualizing them as “social identity,” and she asserts “Everyday life is fundamentally ideological” (p. 160). For the second-generation Korean-

Americans, everyday ideology is not only at the level of their family life, but also in the wider American social life. The cultural nation is founded upon “seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage and language, a distinct area of settlement, religion, customs and history...” (Alter, 1985, p. 9). For example, “Don’t sit on the table,” “Don’t whistle at night,” “Don’t leave food,” “Do daily ritual for the ancestors.” These customs are from Chinese, Japanese, and Korean heritage culture under Confucianism. In keeping with these customs, the three groups identify themselves as Asian American as a lump sum.

Furthermore, I would like to emphasize the importance of the heritage cultural education with Asian Americans. The formal institutions in America teach their subjects against the background of Western philosophy and Western cultural values. In addition, the majority of formal K-12 institutions have decreased the portion of Chinese and Japanese language classes. Under the existing circumstances, the informal cultural education based at home and the local community is getting more important for Asian Americans in Salt Lake City, Utah. They have played the role of partial transmission of heritage values even without the language training or other cultural training in the society. Every one of the interviewees has experienced informal cultural education through the routes such as travel to the heritage country, participating in the heritage festivals, learning from the same heritage friends, and tasting the heritage food at the restaurants. They identified themselves as ‘balanced’ or ‘well mixed’ in both cultururation level, the heritage culture and the American culture.

On the other hand, there can also be only a partial transmission of heritage values in Asian Americans. As previously mentioned with regard to common cultural values

among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans, they share a high degree of valuing family recognition through the achievements especially of the eldest son and will favor him. These cultural values engender conflict or are seen as ironic because the immigrant parents put the success in the majority society prior to adaptation to all other heritage culture. In conformity with the interviews, it is an ironic fact that one of the Asian American parents pushed and supported their son rather than their daughter in terms of school and professional life because he was the eldest son in the family, but they did not pressure him to learn Chinese culture, values, or behaviors.

Another issue to study in cultural education is that, due to the different social circumstances in the U.S., Asian Americans take a flexible approach to the question of who fills the roles of “cultural educators.” However, depending on who the person is and what generation they are from, the heritage culture that is taught may be a culture “frozen” from a time period that would seem quite removed from today’s society in the “homeland.” This issue was actually reflected in the interviews. The 1 fourth-generation Japanese American mentioned that when he visited Japan, he felt something different than what he learned from his grandmother who was his major educator in Japanese culture. His grandmother is a second-generation Japanese American born in the early part of the twentieth century, and who went to school in Japan for better heritage culture education around the time of World War II. Every culture changes at every moment. However, her heritage culture was frozen for a half century, and her cultural education to her grandson has not been updated to adjust to the state of current Japanese culture. Similarly, one 1.5-generation Japanese American felt that something was different, that a certain ‘authenticity’ was missing the first time she visited the Japanese Festival held at

the community church. It is true that all cultures are inherently predisposed to change. The Japanese American culture has been inherited and also created to unite the group members in the U.S. Thus, sometimes the question of “authenticity” is a problematic way of describing this phenomenon due to the generation of cultural educators and his/her ‘frozen’ culture.

I truly believe in the flexibility that Asian Americans had in the roles of being transmitters of informal cultural education. First of all, I would like to share a children’s book story ‘*Suki’s Kimono*’ with you. Although I have done various interviewees, research, and studies for months in order to write this thesis, this 15- page children’s book spelled out simply and clearly what I wanted to say.

The story of ‘*Suki’s Kimono*’ is about a family of Japanese immigrants living somewhere in North America. During the summer vacation, *Suki*’s grandmother visited her house and brought her to a Japanese cultural festival to show the heritage dance, music, food, and clothing. On the first day of class, *Suki* wore the *kimono* her grandmother gave her to school. During class, she performed the heritage dance and sang the song which she learned from the festival. The book introduced what the Japanese wear at the heritage festival and what kind of instruments they play at the festival. Also the book teaches several Japanese words on the first page of the book (e.g., **obāchan** (*o-baa-chan*): informal word for grandmother, **geta** (*ge-ta*): Japanese wooden clogs).

In conclusion, through various avenues, Asian Americans not only learn themselves the heritage cultural values and customs, but they also transmit the Asian cultures to the non-Asian American or to the non-Asian community. In the process of

heritage cultural education whether in formal or informal ways, there are multiple avenues of transmission of Asian cultural values.

In addition, even though I have categorized the different aspects to informal education about heritage culture such as songs, stories, travel, food, rituals, festivals, and philosophy, it is important to note that these methods are intertwined and integrated in everyday life. As you see many experiences in the real life, every single interview supports the idea that one cultural category does not stand by itself. Because the definition of culture is discussed at large including the full range of human behavior patterns, the heritage cultures learned by Asian Americans intertwined several factors. The various avenues and methods of cultural education are often integrated (e.g., food is associated with rituals and certain language words), which engender another way of cultural education and ‘diversity’ in American society. Therefore, we should not view the role of informal cultural education in American society as insignificant.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS OF INFORMAL AND FORMAL EDUCATION

In order to provide a clear understanding of key terms used throughout this study, the following definitions are offered.

Informal learning: Any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge, or skill which occurs outside the curricula of educational institutions, or the courses or workshops offered by educational or social agencies (Livingstone, 2001, p. 1).

Formal education: The institutional ladder that goes from preschool to graduated studies. This system is known as basic education K-12, college level institutions, and graduates which are granted a diploma or certificate.

Nonformal education: All organized educational programs that take place outside the formal school system, and are usually short-term and voluntary. For instance, tennis courses, second language programs, driving schools, cooking classes, yoga classes, rehabilitation programs, Sunday school, music lessons, painting courses, workshops, and so on.

The informal learning is divided into three forms: self-directed learning, incidental, and socialization (Livingstone, 2001, p. 3).

Self-directed learning: Learning interesting subject by him/herself without the assistance of an ‘educator’; however, there may be a ‘resource person’ who supports information. From the interview, the participants recalled their childhood and learning experience. For instance, for second-generation Korean American I: “I learned of Korean folktales through reading this collection of children’s books my parents bought for me and my sister. They were great and re-read them so many times! I’ve also learned a lot from Korean movies. I’ve watched some films from Netflix and have attended various talks related to Korean culture (i.e., about North Korean gulags, etc.).”

Incidental learning: Learning experiences that occur when the learner did not have any previous intention of learning something out of that experience, but after he/she experienced some learning, he/she becomes aware of some lesson or knowledge. Thus, it is not intentional but conscious learning (Livingstone, 2001, p. 4). For example, second-generation Chinese American II: “I grew up with majority of Korean friends. I do realize there is some similarity with Korean friends. She (Korean friend) will say something, and yeah! That is same with me. We were at the same class, and the other class mates kept confusing me with my Korean friend. We don’t look similar. She is very tall, while I am short. But the class mates think that we are very similar.”

Socialization: The internalization of values, attitudes, behaviors, skills, etc. that occur during everyday life. Not only do we have no a priori intention of acquiring them, but we are not aware that we learned something (Livingstone, 2001, p. 4). For instance, fourth-generation Japanese American I: “I think that I am glad to go to Ogden Buddhist Temple. If we are in the Buddhist church, I have Japanese culture and heritage. I play *Taiko* drums at the temple. This is not only religious activity but also cultural activity.”

APPENDIX B

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND KOREAN AMERICANS

Chan states that historically the Asian international migration initiated when Indians and Chinese became non-White migrant workers after slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1833 (Chan, 1991, p. 4). Asian Americans have been in the United States for over 150 years, before many European immigrant groups.

The history of Chinese immigrants: In the middle of the nineteenth century, the first Chinese people initiated migration to America. The Chinese people were pushed out by powerful forces at home and were also attracted by the discovery of gold in California and by jobs that became available as the American West developed (Chan, 1991, p. 3). Geographically, the Chinese who came to the United States originated from a concentrated area, Canton, because of population pressure, economic change, political upheaval, religious persecution, or natural disasters; furthermore, the special role of the city was the connection or the gate of China's interaction with the outside world. The latter role contributed in that many Chinese emigrants to the West have flowed out of Canton. During the late Tang and Northern Song dynasties, China's maritime trade was centered at Canton; thus, the city became a funnel through which Western influence penetrated the country (Chan, 1991, p. 7).

However, the openness to the Western world affected the common people harshly. As Canton lost its trade monopoly, porters and dockhands lost their jobs. Taxes soared as the government tried to raise sufficient funds to pay the indemnity. Along with the widespread social, economic, and political dislocations caused by the presence of Westerners, domestic developments also created pressures for emigration (Chan, 1991, p. 8).

The history of Japanese immigrants: During the 1890s, the initial Japanese immigrants went east to America. The Japanese immigrants were also pushed here by external influences. During the nineteenth century, America's expansionist thrust reached all the way across the Pacific Ocean (Takaki, 1993, p. 45). In 1853, the American naval officer Matthew Perry sailed into Tokyo (Edo) Bay to open Japan's doors to the West. As Japanese leaders watched Western powers colonizing China, they worried that their country would be the next victim. Thus, in 1868, they restored the *Meiji* emperor and established a strong centralized government. To defend Japan, they pursued a twin strategy of industrialization and militarization and levied heavy taxes to finance their program (Chan, 1991, p. 9).

Bearing the burden of this taxation, farmers suffered severe economic hardships during the 1880s (Takaki, 1993, p. 47). At the time, some 367,000 farmers were dispossessed of their land for failure to pay taxes (Chan, 1991, p. 9). In addition to the negative impact of the economic changes on the common people, another reform undertaken during the *Meiji* era helped to make emigration attractive (Chan, 1991, p. 11). Like the Chinese, the bulk of the Japanese emigrants who left from 1885 onward originated from only a relatively small region in southwestern Japan which was the country's poorest. Also these prefectures became emigrant communities because Robert Walker Irwin had developed such a friendship with Inoue Kaoru, the Japanese foreign minister, and Masuda Takshi, the president of Mitsui Bussan, an import-export Company. Between 1894 and 1908, about 125,000 Japanese - more than half of them from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Fukuoka, and Kumamoto - went to Hawaii (Chan, 1991, p. 12).

The history of Korean immigrants: After being ravaged by Japanese invasions in 1592 and 1597 and by *Manchu* invasions in the 1630s, Korea sealed itself off from the outside world for almost two and a half centuries until the 1860s. When a Japanese ship arrived at the Korean shore in 1875, Korea was forced to sign the Treaty of *Kanghwa*, an unequal treaty with Japan. In 1882, the United States, acting through Robert Shufeldt, became the second nation to secure a treaty with Korea. In 1910, Japan annexed the peninsula outright and enacted harsh measures to exploit its new colony's natural resources and people. During those years of turmoil, an American medical missionary, Horace N. Allen, managed to win King *Kojong*'s confidence because of his friendship with the royal couple. In 1902, on his way back to Korea from the United States, Allen stopped in Honolulu where he met with representatives of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association at their request. Upon his return to Seoul, Allen talked to the king and persuaded him to allow his subjects to emigrate. King *Kojong* accepted Allen's suggestions to allow his subjects to go to Hawaii partly because famine had pervaded several Northern provinces the year before, but more importantly, because he liked the American minister Allen's idea (Chan, 1991, pp. 13-15).

As a result of the active role that missionaries played, an estimated 3000 emigrants left the country between 1902 and 1905. Unlike the Chinese and Japanese who came from geographically confined areas, Korean emigrants originated from many places. Fewer of the Korean emigrants than Chinese or Japanese came from agricultural backgrounds; on the other hand, the extant sources suggest that a large percentage of them were laborers, former soldiers, and artisans (Chan, 1991, p. 15).

The history of the second wave of Asian immigrants: After World War II, the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished previous exclusion acts and national-origins quotas, opening the United States up to a massive influx of immigration from both the Eastern and Western hemisphere. As a result of the new immigration law, the Asian American population rose from one million in 1965 to five million in 1985 (Takaki, 1998, p. 420).

The history of the participants of this study: The participants for this study are the second wave of Asian immigrants, except two participants who are fourth-generation Japanese American. Their great grandparents came to the United State in the beginning of 1900, landing in California and Hawaii. The rest of the participants are second-generation and came to the United States in 1970s~1980s. Particularly in the case of the Chinese American participants, if their father was married, he came first to the United States and settled down to make a living and then brought his wife and children. If the father was single, he came first by himself and settled down to make a living in the United State, and then he went back to China/ Taiwan. He then got married and brought her back to the United States. All four Chinese American participants' families also brought their grandparents to the United States. Moreover, a father or a grandfather came first, not the mother or grandmother. This demonstrates that the man is the leader of family and decision maker, representing the paternal society back in China.

Most of the Japanese and Korean American participants' families did not bring their extended families back to the U.S. Some of them came to America by him/herself and found similar ethnic spouses in America. Otherwise, very few of them who were married in Japan or Korea brought their spouse and children back to the United States.

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